

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION.

The NATIONAL REPUBLICAN is published every afternoon, (Sundays excepted,) at the corner of Indiana avenue and Second street, and is delivered to city subscribers at six cents per week, mail subscribers at three dollars and fifty cents per annum, in advance.

Advertisements inserted at liberal rates. All communications, whether on business or for publication, should be addressed to LEWIS CLEPHANE & Co., Washington, D. C.

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN.

For the National Republican.

MR. LINCOLN'S OPINIONS AND POLICY.

Among all the strange sights presented to the public by the result of the recent election, none is more strange or ludicrous, not to say absurd, than the hue and cry raised by the disunion Democratic organs of the country, in relation to Mr. Lincoln's opinions, and the policy which he will be likely pursue in his Administration of the Government. These organs insist, with great apparent earnestness, that it is absolutely necessary for him to come out with a statement of his own signature, in order to pacify the secessionists of the South; as though his opinions, and those of the party whom he represents, were not matters of record, so plain that none need be ignorant of them, or misunderstand them.

Now, I desire to know what earthly good could be gained by his doing so, or what obligation he is under to do it? In the first place, if they will not believe the solemn assertions contained in our platform, and which is the only authoritative, and, as it were, official statement that he or the party can make of its objects, and of the policy by which he is to be governed, and if, in addition to this, they will not believe the repeated statements made by him in his speeches, made, not years ago, when the present issues were not before the public, but in the discussion of these very questions upon which they pretend to be so excited and fearful, and when he could not be supposed to have any such inducement as might now beset him to misrepresent or conceal his real opinions, how will they believe anything he might now say?

Besides, why should he say anything? Neither he nor the party have done anything to cause this excitement. It has been gotten up by the disunionists themselves, and their allies at the North; and that, too, by their gross and continued misrepresentations of our party and its objects. The President himself, and his organs, the *Constitution* and *Herald*, have been the prime movers in creating and keeping alive this excitement. In his stump speech, made in this city soon after the nominations, he deliberately misrepresented the claims and intentions of our party, by saying that we claimed rights in the Territories which we denied to the South, and then told them that they could not submit to our enforcement of these claims without dishonoring and degrading themselves in the eyes of the world. Those misrepresentations and taunting appeals to the South, thus made by the President in person, were echoed and re-echoed by the disunion organs from one end of the country to the other, both North and South. More than a million copies of that speech were sent out to the country, by the Breckinridge Committee, from this city alone. Nor is this all. For years we have been trying, in every reasonable manner, to tell them just what we do believe and intend to do; and how have our efforts been met? By personal violence and abuse! The mails have been robbed, our papers burned, and quiet offensive citizens have been or otherwise murdered for attempting to circulate them; and that, too, when they contained not a single incendiary word! Our speakers have been refused a hearing, actually mobbed and treated with all sorts of violence and abuse; and that, too, while we not only permitted but invited the most ultra of their kind to come among us and discuss the issues of the day. Even those of our citizens who dared to think with us, or give expression to their honest convictions, have not only been silenced, but absolutely driven from their homes—their property destroyed—their families abused, and in some instances actually murdered. And all this, too, in the face of the plain provision of the Constitution which guarantees the "freedom of speech and of the press." With what face, then, can these men come to us now, asking for an expression of opinion—and especially, when they ask it as now they do, to quiet a disturbance which they have themselves created? It is an insult, a positive insult, for them to ask it of us. Still, for the purpose of taking away even the semblance of an excuse, which they pretend to have, and in order that they may really inform their people what Mr. Lincoln's true sentiments are, I append a few selections from his various speeches, on the subject of about which they pretend to be so anxious to know. Will they publish and circulate them among their people? We shall see.

Some Opinions of Mr. Lincoln.

SELECTED VERBATIM FROM HIS SPEECHES, AND PERTINENT TO THE PRESENT OCCASION.

"I say that we must not interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists, because the Constitution forbids it, and the general welfare does not require us to do so. We must not withhold an efficient fugitive slave law, because the Constitution requires us, as I understand it, not to withhold such a law. But we must prevent the out-spreading of the institution, because neither the Constitution nor the general welfare requires us to extend it. We must prevent the revival of the African slave trade, and the enacting by Congress of a Territorial slave code. We must prevent each of these things being done by either Congress or courts. The people of the United States are the rightful masters of both Congress and the courts—not to overthrow the Constitution, but to overthrow the men who pervert the Constitution!"—*Speech at Cincinnati, September 18, 1859.*

"I hold myself under constitutional obligations to allow the people in all the States, without interference, direct or indirect, to do exactly as they please; and I deny that I have any inclination to interfere with them, even if there were no such constitutional obligation. I can only say again, that I am placed improperly—altogether improperly, in spite of all that I can say—when it is insisted that I entertain any other views or purposes in regard to that matter (slavery)."—*Speech at Jonesborough, Ill., Sept. 16, 1858.*

"While it (slavery) drives on in its state of progress as it is now driving, and as it has driven for the last five years, I have ventured the opinion, and say to-day, that we will have no end to the slavery agitation until it takes one turn or the other. I do not mean that when it takes a turn toward ultimate extinction it will be in a day, nor in a year, nor in two years. I do not suppose that in the most peaceful way ultimate extinction would occur in less

than a hundred years at least; but that it will occur in the best way for both races, in God's own good time, I have no doubt."—*Speech at Charleston, Ill., Sept. 18, 1858.*

"Mr. Douglas's popular sovereignty, as a principle, is simply this: If one man chooses to make a slave of another, neither that man nor anybody else has a right to object."—*Speech at Cincinnati, Sept. 17, 1859.*

"I have intimated that I thought the agitation (of slavery) would not cease until a crisis should be reached and passed. I have stated in what way I have thought it would be reached and passed. We might, by arresting the further spread of it, and placing it where the fathers originally placed it, put it where the public mind should rest in the belief that it was in the course of ultimate extinction. Thus the agitation may cease. It may be pushed forward until it shall become alike lawful in all the States, old as well as new, North as well as South. I entertain the opinion, upon evidence sufficient to my mind, that the fathers of this Government placed that institution where the public mind did rest in the belief that it was in the course of ultimate extinction; and when I desire to see the further spread of it arrested, I only say that I desire to see that done which the fathers have first done. It is not true that our fathers, as Judge Douglas assumes, made this Government part slave and part free. Understand the sense in which he puts it—he assumes that slavery is a rightful thing within itself—was introduced by the framers of the Constitution. The exact truth is, that they found the institution existing among us, and they left it as they found it. But in making the Government, they left this institution with many clear marks of disapprobation upon it. They found slavery among them, and they left it among them because of the difficulty—the absolute impossibility of its immediate removal."—*Speech at Altoona, Oct. 18, 1858.*

"Let me say I have no prejudice against the Southern people. They are just what we would be in their situation. If slavery did not exist among them they would not introduce it. If it did now exist among us, we should not instantly give it up. This I believe of the masses, North and South. Doubtless there are individuals on both sides who would not hold slaves under any circumstances; and others who would gladly introduce slavery anew if it were not out of existence. We know that some Southern men do free their slaves, go North, and become tip-top abolitionists; while some Northern ones go South, and become most cruel slave masters."

"When Southern people tell us they are no more responsible for the origin of slavery than we are, I acknowledge the fact. When it is said that the institution exists, and that it is very difficult to get rid of it in any satisfactory way, I can understand and appreciate the saying. I surely will not blame them for not doing what I should not know how to do myself. If all earthly power were given me, I should not know what to do, as to the existing institution. My first impulse would be to free all the slaves, and send them to Liberia—to their own native land. But a moment's reflection would convince me, that whatever of high hope (as I think there is) there may be in this, in the long run, its sudden execution is impossible. If they were all landed there in a day, they would perish in the next ten days; and there are not surplus shipping and surplus money enough in the world to carry them there in many times ten days. What then? Free them all, and keep them among us as underlings? Is it quite certain that this betters their condition? I think I would not hold one in slavery at any rate; yet the point is not clear enough to denounce people upon. What next? Free them, and make them politically and socially our equals? My own feelings will not admit of this; and if mine would, we well know that those of the great mass of white people will not. Whether this feeling accords with justice and sound judgment, is not the sole question, if indeed it is any part of it. A universal feeling, whether well or ill founded, cannot be safely disregarded. We cannot, then, make them equals. It does seem, to me that systems of gradual emancipation might be adopted; but for that tardiness in this respect, I will not undertake to judge our brethren of the South."

"When they remind us of their constitutional rights, I acknowledge them, not grudgingly, but fully and fairly; and I would give them any legislation for the reclaiming of their fugitives, which should not, in its stringency, be more likely to carry a free man into slavery than our ordinary criminal laws are to hang an innocent one."—*Speech at Ottawa, Ill., Aug. 21, 1858.*

"Has anything ever threatened the existence of this Union, save and except this very institution of slavery? What is it that we hold most dear amongst us? Our own liberty and property. What has ever threatened our liberty and prosperity, save and except this institution of slavery? If this is true, how do you propose to improve the condition of things by enlarging slavery—by spreading it out, and making it bigger?"

"You may have a wen or cancer on your person, and not be able to cut it out, lest you bleed to death; but surely it is no way to cure it to engraft it, and spread it over your whole body. That is no proper way of treating what you regard as a wrong."—*Speech at Altoona, Oct. 15, 1858.*

"I suppose most of us (I know it of myself) believe that the people of the Southern States are entitled to a Congressional fugitive slave law. As the right is constitutional, I agree that the legislation shall be granted to it, and that not that we like the institution of slavery. We profess to have no taste for running and catching negroes; at least, I profess no taste for that job at all. Why, then, do I yield support to a fugitive slave law? Because I do not understand that the Constitution, which guarantees that right, can be supported without it."—*Speech at Altoona, Oct. 15, 1858.*

"The real issue in this controversy—the one pressing upon every mind—is the sentiment on the part of one class that looks upon the institution of slavery as a wrong, and of another class that does not look upon it as a wrong. The sentiment that contemplates the institution of slavery in this country as a wrong, is the sentiment of the Republican party. They look upon it as being a moral, social, and political wrong; and while they contemplate it as such, they nevertheless have due regard for its actual existence among us, and the difficulties of getting rid of it in any satisfactory way, and to all the constitutional obligations thrown about it.

Yet having a due regard for these, they desire a policy in regard to it that looks to its not creating any more danger. They insist that it should, as far as may be, be treated as a wrong; and one of the methods of treating it as a wrong is to make provision that it shall grow no larger. If there be a man among us who does not think that the institution of slavery is wrong in any of the aspects of which I have spoken, he is misplaced, and ought not to be with us. And if there be a man amongst us who is so impatient of it as a wrong as to disregard its actual presence among us, and the difficulty of getting rid of it suddenly in a satisfactory way, and to disregard the constitutional obligations thrown about it, that man is misplaced if he is on our platform."—*Speech at Altoona, Oct. 15, 1858.*

"A FEW WORDS TO THE SOUTH. "We the Republicans, and others, forming the opposition of the country, intend to 'stand by our guns,' to be patient and firm, and in the long run to beat you. When we do beat you, you perhaps want to know what we will do with you. I will tell you, so far as I am authorized to speak for the opposition, what we mean to do with you. We mean to treat you, as nearly as we possibly can, as Washington, Jefferson, and Madison, treated you. We mean to leave you alone, and in no way interfere with your institution; to abide by every compromise of the Constitution; and, in a word, coming back to the original proposal, to treat you as far as degenerated men (if we have degenerated) may, according to the examples of those noble fathers—Washington, Jefferson, and Madison. We mean to remember that you are as good as we are; that there is no difference between us, other than the difference of circumstances. We mean to recognize and bear in mind, always, that you have as good hearts in your bosoms as other people, or as we claim to have, and to treat you accordingly."—*Speech at Cincinnati, Sept. 17, 1859.*

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LEONARD SCOTT & CO., nov 26 No. 51 Gold street, New York.

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM.

Resolved, That we, the delegated representatives of the Republican Electors of the United States, in Convention assembled, in discharge of the duty we owe to our constituents and our country, unite in the following declarations:

First. That the history of the nation during the last four years has fully established the propriety and necessity of the organization and perpetuation of the Republican party, and that the causes which called it into existence are permanent in their nature, and now, more than ever before, demand its peaceful and constitutional triumph.

Second. That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence, and embodied in the Federal Constitution, "that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed," is essential to the preservation of our republican institutions; and that the Federal Constitution, the rights of the States, and the Union of the States, must and shall be preserved.

Third. That to the Union of the States this nation owes its unprecedented increase in population; its surprising development of material resources; its rapid augmentation of wealth; its happiness at home and its honor abroad; and we hold in abhorrence all schemes for disunion, come from whatever source they may; and we congratulate the country that no Republican member of Congress has uttered or countenanced a threat of disunion, so often made by Democratic members without rebuke and with applause from their political associates; and we denounce those threats of disunion, in case of a popular overthrow of their ascendancy, as denying the vital principles of a free Government, and as an avowal of contemplated treason, which is the imperative duty of an indignant people sternly to rebuke and forever silence.

Fourth. That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions, according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depends; and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any State or Territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes.

Fifth. That the present Democratic Administration has far exceeded our worst apprehensions in its measureless subservience to the exactions of a sectional interest, as especially evidenced in its desperate exertions to force the infamous Lecompton Constitution upon the protesting people of Kansas—in constraining the personal relation between master and servant to involve an unequal property in persons—in its attempted enforcement every where, on land and sea, through the intervention of Congress and of the Federal courts, of the extreme pretensions of a purely local interest, and in its general and unvarying abuse of the power intrusted to it by a confiding people.

Sixth. That the people justly view with alarm the reckless extravagance which pervades every department of the Federal Government; that a return to rigid economy and accountability is indispensable to arrest the systematic plunder of the public Treasury by favored parties; while the recent startling developments of frauds and corruptions at the Federal metropolis show that an entire change of Administration is imperatively demanded.

Seventh. That the new dogma that the Constitution of its own force carries slavery into any or all of the Territories of the United States, is a dangerous political heresy, at variance with the explicit provisions of that instrument itself, with common-sense exposition, and with legislative and judicial precedent; is revolutionary in its tendency, and subversive of the peace and harmony of the country.

Eighth. That the normal condition of all the territory of the United States is that of Freedom; that as our republican fathers, when they had abolished slavery in all our national territory, ordained that "no person should be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law," it becomes our duty, by legislation, whenever such legislation is necessary, to maintain this provision of the Constitution against all attempts to violate it; and we deny the authority of Congress, of a Territorial Legislature, or of any individuals, to give legal existence to slavery in any Territory of the United States.

Ninth. That we brand the recent reopening of the African slave trade, under the cover of our national flag, aided by perversions of judicial power, as a crime against humanity, and a burning shame to our country and age; and we call upon Congress to take prompt and efficient measures for the total and final suppression of that execrable traffic.

Tenth. That in the recent votes by their Federal Governors of the acts of the Legislatures of Kansas and Nebraska, prohibiting slavery in those Territories, we find a practical illustration of the boasted Democratic principle of non-interference and popular sovereignty embodied in the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and a demonstration of the deception and fraud involved therein.

Eleventh. That Kansas should be immediately admitted as a State under the Constitution recently formed and adopted by her people, and accepted by the House of Representatives.

Twelfth. That while providing refuge for the support of the General Government by duties upon imports, sound policy requires such an adjustment of these imposts as to encourage the development of the industrial interests of the whole country; and we commend that policy of national exchanges, which secures to the working men liberal wages, to agriculture remunerative prices, to mechanics and manufacturers an adequate reward for their skill, labor, and enterprise, and to the nation commercial prosperity and independence.

Thirteenth. That we protest against any sale or alienation to others of the public lands held by actual settlers, and against any view of the free homestead policy which regards the settlers as paupers or supplicants for public bounty; and we demand the passage by Congress of the complete and satisfactory homestead measure which has already passed the House.

Fourteenth. That the Republican party is opposed to any change in our naturalization laws, or any State legislation by which the rights of citizenship hitherto accorded to immigrants from foreign lands shall be abridged or impaired; and in favor of giving a full and efficient protection

to the rights of all classes of citizens, whether native or naturalized, both at home and abroad.

Fifteenth. That appropriations by Congress for river and harbor improvements of a national character, required for the accommodation and security of an existing commerce, are authorized by the Constitution and justified by an obligation of the Government to protect the lives and property of its citizens.

Sixteenth. That a railroad to the Pacific Ocean is imperatively demanded by the interests of the whole country; that the Federal Government ought to render immediate and efficient aid in its construction; and that, as preliminary thereto, a daily overland mail should be promptly established.

Seventeenth. Finally, having thus set forth our distinctive principles and views, we invite the co-operation of all citizens, however differing on other questions, who substantially agree with us, in their alliance and support.

BELL AND EVERETT PLATFORM.

Whereas experience has demonstrated that platforms adopted by the partisan Conventions of the country have had the effect to mislead and deceive the people, and at the same time to widen the political divisions of the country, by the creation and encouragement of geographical and sectional parties; therefore,

Resolved, That it is both the part of patriotism and of duty to recognize no political principle other than the Constitution of the country, the union of the States, and the enforcement of the laws; and that as representatives of the Constitutional Union men of the country, in National Convention assembled, we hereby pledge ourselves to maintain, protect, and defend, separately and unitedly, these great principles of public liberty and national safety against all enemies, at home and abroad, believing thereby peace may once more be restored to the country, the just rights of the people and of the States re-established, and the Government again placed in that condition of justice, fraternity, and equality, which, under the example and Constitution of our fathers, has solemnly bound every citizen of the United States to maintain a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity.

DOUGLASS AND JOHNSON PLATFORM.

Resolved, That we, the Democracy of the Union, in Convention assembled, hereby declare our adherence of the resolutions unanimously adopted and declared as a platform of principles by the Democratic Convention at Cincinnati, in the year 1856, believing that Democratic principles are unchangeable in their nature, when applied to the same subject matter; and we recommend as the only further resolutions the following:

Resolved, That it is the duty of the United States to afford ample and complete protection to all its citizens, whether at home or abroad, and whether native or foreign.

Resolved, That one of the necessities of the age, in a military, commercial, and postal point of view, is speedy communication between the Atlantic and Pacific States; and the Democratic party pledge such constitutional government aid as will insure the construction of a railroad to the Pacific coast at the earliest practicable period.

Resolved, That the Democratic party are in favor of the acquisition of the island of Cuba, on such terms as shall be honorable to ourselves and just to Spain.

Resolved, That the enactment of State Legislatures to defeat the faithful execution of the fugitive slave law are hostile in character, subversive of the Constitution, and revolutionary in their effect.

Resolved, That in accordance with the interpretation of the Cincinnati platform, that, during the existence of the Territorial Governments, the measure of restriction, whenever it may be imposed by the Federal Constitution on the power of the Territorial Legislature over the subject of the domestic relations, as the same has been, or shall hereafter be, finally determined by the Supreme Court of the United States, should be respected by all good citizens, and enforced with promptness and fidelity by every branch of the General Government.

BRECKINRIDGE AND LANE PLATFORM.

Resolved, That the platform adopted by the Democratic party at Cincinnati be affirmed, with the following explanatory resolutions:

First. That the Government of a Territory organized by an act of Congress is provisional and temporary, and during its existence all citizens of the United States have an equal right to settle with their property in the Territories, without their rights, either of person or property, being destroyed or impaired by Congressional or Territorial legislation.

Second. That it is the duty of the Federal Government, in all its departments, to protect, when necessary, the rights of persons and property in the Territories, and wherever else its constitutional authority extends.

Third. That when the settlers of a Territory, having an adequate population, form a State Constitution, the right of sovereignty commences, and, being consummated by admission into the Union, they stand on an equal footing with the people of other States; and the State thus organized ought to be admitted into the Federal Union, whether its Constitution prohibits or recognizes the institution of slavery.

Resolved, That the Democratic party are in favor of the acquisition of the island of Cuba on such terms as will be honorable to ourselves and just to Spain, at the earliest practicable moment.

Resolved, That the enactment of State Legislatures to defeat the faithful execution of the fugitive slave law are hostile in character, subversive of the Constitution, and revolutionary in their effect.

Resolved, That the Democracy of the United States recognize it as the imperative duty of this Government to protect the naturalized citizen in all his rights, whether at home or in foreign lands, to the same extent as its native-born citizens.

Whereas one of the greatest necessities of the age, in a political, commercial, postal, and military point of view, is a speedy communication between the Pacific and Atlantic coasts; therefore be it

Resolved, That the National Democratic party do hereby pledge themselves to use every means in their power to secure the passage of some bill, to the extent of the constitutional author-

PUBLISHERS' NOTICES.

Subscriptions, advertisements, and communications, intended for this paper, may be left at Adamson's periodical store, on Seventh street, opposite the General Post Office, where copies of the paper may also be had immediately on its issue.

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Communications upon all subjects, particularly with reference to our city affairs, will receive respectful attention.

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